42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

4. Actual Moral Behavior

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saúran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

771 insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest
177 for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg
797 would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

183 Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong
788 opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among
171 pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages,
177 and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all
797 youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the
771 case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christian-
178 ity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their tradi-
184 tional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

585 Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get
583 married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with
177 native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything,
178 except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.
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42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1926-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception,
178 however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special
offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is
exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the
law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk
and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of
old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether
small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in
which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of
coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown
entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the back-
ground.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter
amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being
shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice.
Anegalukkáp (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of
your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an in-
fallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity.
[431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter
definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make
him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will
prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *paleték*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to
translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no
term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
574 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers
and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra.
577 We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into
Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Fore-
seeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey,
the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on
Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

183 178 177 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

837 183 184 As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 183 171 836 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

577 183 685 858 867 With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

577 867 158 183 811 Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

577 158 183 811 Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

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And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*maḍusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábūg*).

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Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deń* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

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Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

764 tion of the same, whenever a *labág* bird passes under (*magsilpát*)
178 the building: indeed, they believe that, if they continued to build
787 the house on that particular spot, one or more of the inmates would certainly die.

764 Nowadays the authorities insist on burial in common graveyards,
177 set aside for the purpose and situated outside and away from the settlement. Although this ordinance is still occasionally evaded, it becomes harder and harder to do so, on account of the presence of sanitary inspectors in every municipal district; and so the Isneg have gradually accommodated themselves to circumstances, as will be explained more fully when treating of the decoration of the tomb.

764 At the time set for the funeral, in the evening, the coffin (or lower part of a jar) containing its precious burden, is carried to the grave (*itamán;* sometimes pronounced *itanám;* in Ilоko: *itanćm*). If the body has to be coffined at the grave, it is carried on the *tádag* or bier. Actually, when the body is interred in the graveyard, the funeral takes place in the daytime, and any time of the day will do.

Before and after the body is laid or set to rest, a good many rites and ceremonies take place, and these I shall try to describe with as much order and accuracy as possible.

The position of the body in the tomb is the same as that of the *innát* in the house, at the time it was coffined: if the latter was stretched out at full length or otherwise laid on its back, the body in the grave will rest supine; if the *innát* was kept in a sitting or squatting posture, the corpse will be placed that way in the grave, its head remaining uppermost.

And now as to the *tanád* or objects that are interred together with the body, and which are believed to be used by the *kadudúwá* of the deceased in the realm of the dead. Some of them are always present, others only occasionally.

The following objects are never lacking:

A *tariyáw* (a piece of earthenware, plate or cup), containing a certain amount of cooked rice;

Some viands usually wrapped up in one or more leaves;

A receptacle (any kind) containing some water;

A bundles of clothes;

An *aliwá* or headax, in the case of a man; an *ikó* knife, in the case of a woman;

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

SCHEMA II

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B) Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(M) Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayoúp*[3]	*oó*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axoúp*[4]	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant:

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is increasing at a rapid pace; and so, except for old women (who are rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less marked degree, to the building of better roads. Now again, with the opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Iloko words and sentences, pronounced as in Iloko (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Iloko, although using pure Isneg words.

[3] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages.

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[43] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens, 000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST]

FOLKLORE

Folklore is the fabric upon which the people 121
weave the pattern of their future. It is woven from materials composed of the religious beliefs, customs, habits, and daily life of the people. If these are changed by migration, borrowing from other people, or by internal alteration, the result is a different culture in the future.

If one were to make a complete collection of all the folklore of the people during their varied life, he would have the basic material for a cultural history of that people. For folklore has also sometimes been called the vine that clings to the crumbling ruins of man's progress upward.

The culture of the Apayaos has remained much 178
the same during many long centuries: there has been 121
little progress upward. Thus the interesting old vine has been growing and expanding. If you look at it carefully, you will observe much of the culture of these people.

The Apayao people tell their stories in two ways. 538
The short way is used at such times as when they hap- 517
pen to meet together, perchance on the trail, or are resting for a while. It is a simple narration of events.

The long way is used when time hangs rather heavily during the confinement of the torrential rains. or in the long evenings. These story hours are much enjoyed and are the principal amusement of the people. An old woman or man, steeped in the lore of the past, 538
makes the best story teller. He spins out his tale using a certain pleasing tune, *sanimela*, which at times